

THE VOICE OF FREEDOM.

ALLEN & POLAND, PUBLISHERS.

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CHAUNCEY L. KNAPP, EDITOR.

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THE VOICE OF FREEDOM.

For the Voice of Freedom.
Robbery on a Large Scale.

MR. EDITOR:

In his philippic against abolition, delivered on February 7th, 1839, the Hon. Henry Clay assumes that there are 3,000,000 slaves in the United States, which he estimates at twelve hundred million dollars, at the market price.—This gives 4800 dollars to every slaveholder, provided there be only 250,000 slaveholders in the States, as is said to be the fact. A pretty sum to be sure; and no wonder that slaveholders cling to such a boon. But how did they acquire this property? by their own industry? No; slaveholders are too proud to dig. By inheritance from their ancestors? No; for the slaves of their ancestors have gone with them to meet their oppressors at the bar of God.—How then have they acquired this property? I answer, by oppression and robbery. Violence is in their hands; and by violence they have acquired all the slave property which they hold. To say that the law sanctions what they have done, is only saying that they have established iniquity by law. Who make and sustain slave laws? Slaveholders. They make laws to justify oppression and robbery, and then cry to conscience peace, peace. As well might pirates make laws to justify piracy, and then say that the law sanctioned all their acts of cruelty and blood.

It is a palpable truth, founded in the nature of things, that a child cannot forfeit his liberty before he is born.—Hence all men are born equally free, and have certain rights which are inalienable. This is as true with respect to the children of the poor as of the rich,—the black man as the white. But if all the colored children for fifty years past have been born free, by what means have they lost their liberty? Surely there can be in truth but one answer: they have been robbed of their liberty. And those who now hold them in servitude, contrary to their wishes, are all thieves and robbers. A man that steals my purse, is a thief; how much more so when he steals my body, all that I have and am! According to the Hon. Mr. Clay's statement, then, the slaveholders of the South have by violence stolen property to the amount of twelve hundred million dollars in sixty years. This is robbing on a large scale;—stealing like gentlemen who are too high-minded to stoop to petty thefts. How mean those foolish fellows must appear, who get into our states' prisons for house-breaking and horse-stealing, when compared with those gentlemen who steal men by millions, and make laws to justify robbery!

The Hon. Mr. Clay has not, however, estimated all that he and other honorable slaveholders have stolen. Where are the wives, and children, and all the endearments of life,—the personal, civil and religious rights,—the Bible, and the souls of three million of slaves, for whom Christ died? All stolen. Here is something that cannot be estimated by cents and dollars; something that slave laws cannot whitewash; something for which even honorable men will have to render an account to Him who has said, "All souls are mine."

In the opinion of Mr. Clay, one obstacle in the way of abolition measures, is the vast amount of property which slaveholders have acquired in their slaves. The argument seems to imply, that if they had but little property in their slaves they might give them up; but now they have so much stolen property they cannot part with it. On this principle, a man who had stolen a horse worth only ten dollars might consent to restore it to the rightful owner, while he utterly refused to part with another stolen horse which he considered worth five hundred dollars.—Or a gang of pirates might consent to dismiss an old sloop not worth taking into port, while they strenuously maintained their right to detain and plunder a brave ship loaded with bullion. What, require us to restore 1200,000,000 dollars which we have fairly taken and claim as our property under the laws by which pirates are governed? The demand is intolerable, and we will never consent to it.

According to reason and the divine law, he that hath stolen should steal no more; but should restore what he has stolen with double interest. Let those men-stealers who, according to their own showing, have stolen human beings worth 1200,000,000 dollars, make such restitution as the law of God requires, & they must pay \$4,800,000,000 to their slaves. Will Mr. Clay and other honorable slaveholders advance their reasonable proportion of such a sum? Or will they, under the authority of slave-laws, hold fast their stolen goods, set God's law at defiance, and require the rightful owner to redeem his own property?

There is another point of view in which Mr. Clay's argument deserves consideration. If the fact, that slaveholders now hold 1200,000,000 dollars worth of property in the bones and sinews and lives of their fellow-men, be a good and valid reason why no measures should be taken to abolish slavery, then the fact that slaveholders have acquired twice that amount of property in their fellow-men twenty years hence, will be a stronger reason why no measures against slavery should be taken. So that on Mr. Clay's reasoning, slavery with all its horrors must be forever entailed upon our guilty and wretched country. Is this really the opinion of such a statesman? Can he feel willing to unite the destinies of America with interminable slavery?—to throw his weight of influence into the scale against the liberties, the rights, the hopes, the happiness of countless millions of his fellow-men?—to stand up before the world as the determined advocate of interminable slavery? I envy him not the glory of such a position.

I suppose Mr. Clay has presented the most weighty pro-slavery arguments that his powerful mind could muster into the field. If they had a lodging in his heart, I am glad he has disclosed them. All men may now know where he stands respecting the slave question. And all may see what arguments a great man can bring forward in support of a very bad cause. Surely the mountains have labored and brought forth a mouse. KIAH BAYLEY.

Hardwick.

For the Voice of Freedom.

"The slaves, if emancipated, cannot take care of themselves."

MR. EDITOR:

The above objection was (in my humble opinion) incontrovertibly answered in my communication of Feb. 11th, by a simple statement of facts respecting the colored people in the city and county of Philadelphia. But as this is a prominent objection in the minds of our opponents, I have thought that a further statement of facts might be acceptable to your readers.

The following statement respecting the colored people in Smith township, Columbiana county, Ohio, is from Mr. G. GONZALES, and may be relied on as authentic. The settlement extends into Stark county:

"Number of families	51
do of persons	264
do of church members	100
do of colored preachers	4
do who have been slaves	14
[Paid for their freedom about \$3000.]	
THEIR PROPERTY.	
1869 acres of land, valued at	\$29,200
70 horses	2,800
213 cattle	2,556
328 sheep	656
Other property	4,285
Sum total	\$39,497

It is said that the property of various individuals is estimated much below its real value. If this property were divided among the 264 persons, there would be 150 dollars for each man, woman and child. Now I ask if these people can't take care of themselves? But I have not told the whole story. The settlement was commenced about sixteen years ago, and there has been no quarreling nor fighting. They use very little liquor, and intemperance is almost a stranger. A store-keeper informed me that he would trust all of them, with perhaps one exception.—There is one meeting-house, two school-houses, and a library of about 120 books. If you wish to know more, and have proof of what is already stated, call upon Job Johnson, of Mount Union, who has taken especial pains to obtain correct information."

REPORT ON THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE OF COLOR IN THE STATE OF OHIO.

"The number of colored people in Cincinnati is about 2500. As illustrating their general condition, we will give the statistics of one or two small districts. The families in each were visited from house to house, taking them all as far as they went:

Number of families in one of these districts	26
do of individuals	125
do of heads of families	49
do of heads of families professing religion	19
do of children at school	20
do of heads of families who have been slaves	39
do of individuals who have been slaves	95
Time since they obtained their freedom from 1 to 15 years, average 7 years.	
Number of individuals who have purchased themselves	23
Whole amount paid for themselves	\$9,112
Number of fathers and mothers still in slavery	9
do of children	98
do of brothers and sisters	18
do of newspapers taken	0
do of heads of families who can read	2

EMPLOYMENT OF HEADS OF FAMILIES.

Common laborers and porters	7
Dealers in second-hand clothing	7
Hucksters	1
Carpenters	2
Shoe-blacks	6
Cooks and waiters	11
Wash-women	18

Five of these women purchased themselves from slavery. One paid \$400 for herself, and has since bought a house and lot worth \$600. All this she has done by washing. No. of families in another district

do of individuals	258
do of heads of families	106
do of families who are professors of religion	16
do of heads of families at school	53
do of newspapers taken	7
Amount of property in real estate	\$9,850
No. of individuals who have been slaves	108
do. of heads of families who have been slaves	69

Age at which they obtained their freedom, from 3 months to 60 years: average 33 years. Time since they obtained their freedom, from 4 weeks to 27 years: average 9 years.

No. of heads of families who have purchased themselves	36
Whole amount paid for themselves	\$21,515.00
Average price	\$597.64
No. of children which the same families have already purchased	14
Whole amount paid for these children	\$2,425.75
Average price	174.27
Total amt. paid for those parents & children	\$23,940.75
No. of parents still in slavery	16
do of husbands and wives	7
do of children	35
do of brothers and sisters	144

These districts were visited without the least reference to their being exhibited separately. If they give a fair specimen of the whole population, (and we believe that to be a fact,) then we have the following results: 1,129 of the colored population of Cincinnati have been in slavery; 476 have purchased themselves at the total expense of \$215,522.04, averaging for each \$452.77; 163 parents are still in slavery; 68 husbands and 95 wives; 846 children; 1,579 brothers and sisters.

If the question be asked, can the slaves, if liberated, take care of themselves? we cannot answer it better than by pointing to the colored population of Cincinnati. It is amusing to see the curious look which an emancipated slave assumes when he is asked this question. He seems at a loss to know whether he shall consider it a joke or an honest inquiry. "We did," they say, "take care of ourselves and our masters too, while we were in fetters. We dug our way out of slavery—and now that we are free, all we ask is a fair chance." We know of no class of men who are better qualified to take care of themselves, if placed under proper influences. True, but few of those in Cincinnati are wealthy; but let it be remembered their sympathies are with the slave, and with all their disabilities they have, within a few years, poured into the coffers of the white man more than two hundred thousand dollars for the purchase of their freedom. The moral character and condition of this people is, we believe, rapidly improving.

There are three churches, two Methodist and one Baptist, numbering in all about 450 members. In these churches there is preaching every Sabbath, to full congregations. There are four Sabbath-schools, with each a small library, and three Bible-classes. These schools and classes are well

attended by persons of all ages, and an uncommon desire to learn the truths of the Bible is manifested." Male and female prayer meetings, benevolent and temperance societies are established among them; and with regard to property, character and piety, the colored people of Cincinnati will compare with the poorer class of the white population in almost any part of our country. And when we, as abolitionists, are asked for the evidence that the colored people are capable of self-support, we triumphantly point to Cincinnati.

G. BECKLEY.

Northfield, March 4, 1839.

"Moral Rule of Political Action."

Extracts from 'A Discourse delivered in Hollis street Church, Sunday, January 27, 1839. By John Pierpont. Boston—Published by Jas. Munroe & Co.'

The celebrated Mirabeau—celebrated alike for his talents and his vices—in an essay in favor of removing from the Jews the civil disabilities under which they have suffered through almost all Christendom, arguing that it were better to bind them to the state by the ties of gratitude, than to weaken them as members of it, by withholding from them powers which were granted to all Christians, very sagaciously remarks, 'for the Jew, after all, is more a man than he is a Jew.' He is united to society, that is, by more sympathies and interests on the ground of a common nature, than he is separated from it, or alien to it, on the ground of a peculiar faith.

So, inasmuch as all the members of every civil community hold common relations to God, which relations are earlier, closer, and more enduring than are any that, as fellow-citizens, they can hold to each other; as the duties, consequently, that result from their relations to each other, as members of a body politic,—with the same truth, if not with the same pith and point that belong to the remark of Mirabeau, we may say that every man, according to his nature, is more a moral, than he is a political man. According to his nature, that is, as a creature of God and a subject of his moral government, his allegiance to God is prior to any, and stronger than any allegiance that he can owe to any human government: and consequently, when the laws of men come into collision with the laws of God, the claims and obligations of the latter are paramount to those of the former, and must be first obeyed: or, in the words of the whole college of apostles, 'We ought to obey God rather than men.'

It has already been remarked that this great moral principle can be practically applied to political action, only in cases where the voice of man is in discord with the voice of God; where man enjoins what God forbids, or forbids what God requires; where the human law is in conflict with the divine; where a lower good is sought at the expense of a higher; where politics and morals are at issue; for where there is harmony, between these, in obeying either, the other is obeyed. The principle is that, inasmuch as every man is more a moral than he is a political man, he must, when acting in his political relations, seek the attainment of moral or spiritual good, rather than good which is merely sensual or temporal, and when the latter stands in the way of the former, the sensual and temporal must step out of the way, or be trampled down in the onward and triumphant march of the moral and spiritual,—the hosts of light and truth and love.

This moral principle or rule of political action, I propose to apply to some, indeed to several, of the past and present political interests or parties of this country, wishing it to be understood, however, that in this I make myself, except by way of supposition, an elementary or constituent part of no one of them all. I deal with principles and parties. I pass no judgment upon either; but use, in relation to each, what I suppose will be the least offensive names, as descriptive terms.

Take first, then, the great political parties that divide our nation, and which, to avoid all odious party names, I will describe as the administration and the opposition parties. Here, I suppose myself with the administration. What are the questions which are the most exciting and the most keenly controverted between my party and the opposition? So far as I am informed, they are questions relating to the pecuniary interests of the nation,—tariff or no tariff,—sub-treasury or bankruptcy,—and others of the same general nature, connected with these, dependent upon them, or otherwise related to them. Now, with my lights, I think that these interests will be most wisely and faithfully administered by the hands to which they are now intrusted; and,—believing that if they were to fall into the hands of the opposition, the public treasure would be profligately squandered, and used for the purpose of perpetuating its own power by bribery and corruption,—I must adhere to my party, because in so doing I believe I shall subserve the interests of the state, especially and chiefly its moral interests, which are its highest and best. But suppose the party, as a party, propose a measure that I deem unjust. Suppose that, as an inducement to me, to aid the measure, by my voice or my vote, I am offered an office or a bribe. What then shall I do? What, indeed, but denounce and quit it, and, taking a seat upon the opposition benches, use my knowledge and my power to displace the present incumbents from their office, and put in better men. But my party will denounce me! Let them: they cannot do a better thing for me, or a worse one for themselves. The city of Sodom would not have helped itself, as a city, or averted its own destruction, by banishing the righteous Lot; and after he had voluntarily withdrawn from it, he was not, probably, disquieted by the hard names that his late neighbors called him. I ought to obey God rather than men. I cannot shake off his yoke, that I may put on theirs. His is easy. Theirs, now, will gall to the quick.

Or, suppose me already in the opposition. I, with my present lights, do not believe in the administration. I believe it is impotent, let it will ever so well. I believe it corrupt, as well as impotent, and not only corrupt but corrupting others. What now must I do? Simply this. I must use the power and the instrumentalities that God has put at my disposal to displace the weak and wicked, and put in the strong and good. In this case, the pecuniary and moral interests of the people are in harmony, and in obeying the decisions of my par-

ty, so far as they concur with my best judgment,—but not a line farther,—I obey God at the same time that I obey man. When, therefore, the two tickets come before me, I must take and use that which I think will best subserve the interests, both fiscal and moral, of the great and good land in which God has given me to live.

But, there are, now, three tickets, where there were only two before. To the administration and the opposition, there is now added the antimasonic ticket. What is my course now? Answer: First, examine the merits of the case stated by the men who have agreed upon this ticket. What is the case that they make out? Listen to no clamors against them, raised by those against whom they are acting. Be swayed by no prejudices, for or against them. Examine the merits of their case. If, with the faithful exercise of your best lights and faculties, they make out no case against freemasonry, you are under no obligation to do aught against it; and you leave the antimasonic ticket to be sustained by those whose convictions are different from yours; and take that one of the two, purely political tickets, which, on purely political grounds, you may prefer. But, if they make out to your satisfaction, that the oaths or other obligations of masonry are adverse to the moral purity of the party administering or taking them, or to the impartiality and integrity of the party or fraternity bound by them,—and thus to the safety of the state and to its highest moral interests, in respect to the security of the citizen, or the righteous administration of its laws,—if they make out this case, I say, you see that here is not merely, or chiefly, a question of money, but one of morals; here, not so much the fiscal as the moral interests of the community are implicated; and my first duty to the state is to do what I may to protect its highest interests. If they who are with me in feeling on political subjects generally, will, when acting as legislators, see to the protection of the public morals in this particular, if they will obey God rather than men, I may give them my vote, because they will do so; if not, I must withhold my vote from them because they will not, and cast it for those who will. If it be asked, Will you then abandon your party? I answer; When 'True to party' means 'False to God,' it is time for me to quit it.

The same principle and the same reasoning are applicable to the two—nay, the three, more recent parties; the Peace, the Temperance, and the Abolition parties,—which respectively claim morality as their basis, and purport to have, as their object, respectively, the abolition of war, intoxication, and domestic slavery. If, upon careful examination, I find either or all of these claims sustained,—i. e. find the parties what they purport to be; and if I, with my lights or opportunities for forming a judgment upon the subject, am verily convinced that war, drunkenness, and involuntary servitude, are moral evils, and therefore adverse to the highest interests of the individual and the state; and if I believe, moreover, that moral action, by means of political machinery, will tend to remove or diminish these evils, I must, and, if I am more a moral than a political man, I shall cast my vote for those who, in my opinion, will most efficiently legislate for the moral well-being of the state; and if those who are of the same political party with myself will not do this, I must abandon them in favor of such as will. If, for this, I am called to account by my fellow-partisans, my answer is short; When my party run away from morality they run away from me. Nor is there hazard, in this, to the commercial, manufacturing, or other pecuniary or temporal interests of the state. Your money cannot guard your morals, but morals will your money. They who will protect the former, will not prove recreant to the latter. Protect the morals of a community, and they will protect its industry and all its results. Seek first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all these things will be added unto you.

Massachusetts A. S. Society.

Extracts from the Seventh Annual Report of the Managers of the State Anti-Slavery Society.

OUR NATIONAL CONDITION.

The Lord reigns! If it were not so, the friends of humanity might despair. The Lord is omnipotent! But for this, tyrants might exercise perpetual dominion. The Lord is sworn to execute judgment for all that are oppressed! Therefore, all shackles shall be broken, and every captive set free, in this, in all lands.

Feeling the inspiration of these truths, the Board of Managers present their Seventh Annual Report to the Society, with no misgiving as to the final triumph of the abolition cause, or the soundness of the principles and the wisdom of the measures adopted by its advocates. How soon, in what manner, or by what instrumentalities, the blood-reeking system of American slavery shall be overthrown,—whether by a peaceful or a bloody process,—by the repentance or destruction of the guilty,—it is not for the finite, but the Infinite, to know. After years of warning, expostulation, rebuke, entreaty, on the part of the messengers of Truth,—after centuries of long-suffering and mercy on the part of Almighty God,—it yet remains problematical, whether this nation is to be saved as a brand plucked from the burning, or to be consumed by the fire of its wrath. The uncertainty of what is to come cannot lessen our responsibility, nor justify despondency, nor change the ground of moral obligation. Instead of discouraging effort, or obstructing enterprise, it enforces the necessity of sleepless vigilance and never-slacking exertion. There is a certainty connected with this uncertainty. Without national reformation, there must be national destruction. If there be no truth disseminated, there can be no reformation. Unless there be preachers of truth, there will be no conviction of guilt; and without conviction there can be no repentance, but a fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation. It is certain, then, that by silence, inaction, or despondency, the republic must be destroyed, without remedy. It is uncertain whether, by exposing its blood-red guilt and horrible turpitude,—by bearing a faithful testimony for God and his down-trodden poor,—by watchfulness unto prayer, by laborious toil, by moral power, by energy and union of action—the republic will be saved. Here is the upspringing of our hope, and the ground of our action. If, however, it could be proved that our prayers, our warnings, our en-

treaties, would all be frustrated, by the incorrigible wickedness of the people, still, our duty to warn and exhort would remain in full force. The instruction given by God to his ancient witness is in point:—"Son of man, go, get thee unto the house of Israel, and speak with my words unto them."

But the house of Israel will not hearken unto thee; for they will not hearken unto me: for they are impudent and hard-hearted. But thou shalt speak my words unto them, whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear.' Thanks be to God, no prophet of emancipation has yet been commissioned to declare, with infallible certainty, that we shall plead and labor with our countrymen in vain. At times, indeed, the last ray of hope has been almost extinguished, and there has scarcely seemed to be any possibility of averting impending judgments; but, from time to time, a rainbow of mercy has been seen in the heavens, and omens of good, and flaming signs, to encourage us. It was a settled point, that Ezekiel could not make any impression upon the seared and rock-hardened conscience of Israel: nay, he could not be heard even: his speech had no sound, and produced no effect. Our message is heard by the people, from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean. Our slightest whisper is echoed from the tops of the Rocky Mountains, with distinctness and power. We have not spoken in vain. It is true, the ears of many have been stopped with cotton; some have made use of their fingers; very ingenious contrivances have been suggested to destroy the power of sound; propositions have been made to cut out our tongues, and cast them upon a dung-hill: in many cases, gags have been resorted to, in order to silence us; but all in vain. Without a paradox, the more our mouths have been closed, the wider we have opened them; and the less the nation has been disposed to hear, the more it has heard. From the least to the greatest, from the youngest to the eldest, all have been made acquainted with our testimony. Thus we have succeeded in reaching the national conscience. The slinky rock has been smitten, and a stream of contrition is beginning to flow. Terrible, but hopeful, is the conflict going on in the bosom of the nation, between light and darkness, truth and error, the agony of conviction and the desperation of passion. Alternately are heard imprecations, expostulations, threats, entreaties, blasphemies. If, in one aspect, a spectacle like this be afflicting, in another it is pregnant with salvation.

The history of the anti-slavery cause, during the past year, is not to be embodied in a single Report, however voluminous. The times are more stirring, conflicts are more frequent, events are of greater magnitude, than in the days of our revolutionary fathers. The moral warfare of Liberty against Slavery is incomparably more animating and sublime, and fraught with higher scenes of interest, and attended with far more glorious consequences, than any physical strife.

A. STEVENSON AND SLAVE-BREEDING VIRGINIA.

In our last number we published a letter from Mr. Stevenson, our Ambassador to England, in which he denies the charge of Daniel O'Connell, that he is a slave-breeder; or that Virginia is a slave-breeding state. In this number of our paper, we publish several articles as WITNESSES, to sustain the charge of Mr. O'Connell.

"Professor Dew, of Virginia, a man in high estimation and of the greatest authority in that state, estimates it as well known among the profitable exports of Virginia, 6000 home-bred slaves annually, worth probably at the prices which have ruled for the last four or five years, more than six millions of dollars, or nearly as much as the whole whale fishery of Massachusetts."

We find in the "Friend of Man," as copied from the "New York American," among others, the following:

"Whilst on this subject, I offer you another passage from the work of Professor Dew, in my possession. It is as follows:

"Perhaps one of the greatest blessings, (if we could reconcile our consciences!) which could be conferred upon the southern portion of the Union would arise from the total abolition of the African slave-trade, and the opening of the West India and South American markets to our slaves."

Again, from the same work:

"Virginia is, in fact, a Negro-raising state for other states. She produces enough for her own supply, and six thousand for sale."

Judge Upshur, in the Virginia Convention, uses this language:

"But the value of slaves as an article of property—and it is in that view only that they are legitimate subjects of taxation—depends much on the state of the market abroad: in this view, it is the value of land abroad, and not of land here, which furnishes the ratio. It is well known to us all that nothing is more fluctuating than the value of slaves. A late law of Louisiana, [prohibiting their introduction after the Southampton insurrection, but repealed a year or two after,] reduced their value 26 per cent. in two hours after its passage was known."—Debates, p. 77.

"It seems strange, sir, that Mr. Stevenson should have hazarded the remark, that the charge of slave-breeding, with a view to slave-trading, 'is wholly destitute of truth,' when applied to Virginia, when such testimony as the following can be adduced, almost without limit, against him,"

"1. It is believed, that nowhere in the farming portion of the United States, [Virginia is a farming state,] would slave-labor be generally employed, if the proprietor were not tempted to raise slaves by the high price of the southern market, which keeps it up in his own."—Hon. Henry Clay's Colonization Speech, Dec. 1829.

"2. Dealing in slaves has become a large business; establishments are made in several places in Maryland and Virginia, at which they are sold like cattle; these places of deposit are strongly built, and well supplied with iron thumb-screws and gags, and ornamented with cow-skins and other whips oftentimes bloody."—Niles Reg.

In view of the above testimony, how stands the character of our noble Ambassador, for truth and veracity? Will Americans feel proud of him?

Cazenovia (N. Y.) Herald.